Sohum, Edin.

THE DOCTRINE OF Non-Resistance or Passive Obedience,

No way concerned in the

CONTROVERSIES

Now depending between the

Williamites and the **Jacobites.**

By a LAY GENTLEMAN, of the Communion of the Church of *England*, by Law establish'd.

Cruces nec colimus, nec optamus.

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The Doctrine of
NON-RESISTANCE, or PASSIVE OBEDIENCE,
No way concern'd in the
CONTROVERSIES now depending, &c.

I Have with ſome impatience and wonder beheld the bandying of the **Non-reſiſting Doctrine** to and fro in this diſturbed Kingdom, for ſo many Months, and to ſo little purpoſe; becauſe I am not able to comprehend what any of the contending Parties would be at, nor why that Doctrine, rather than any other, ſhould be made now the Subject of our Diſquiſitions and Enquiries.

For what if God has forbidden us upon pain of Damnation, to reſiſt our Lawful Princes when they do amiſs; and has reſerved to himſelf the Cenſure and Puniſhment of his own Miniſters, as I believe all Lawful Princes are ſuch; and that God has for great and wiſe Reaſons tied up our hands; Doth it therefore follow from hence, that *James* is ſtill the Lawful King of *England*? Or that when he was ſo, we that believe the Non-reſiſting Doctrine, were bound to fight for him, whatever he did?

And on the other ſide, what can the Friends of their preſent Majeſties pretend to palliate their Contempt and Scorn of the Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience*? It was indeed dangerous to them when he firſt entered *England*, becauſe all that believed themſelves bound by it, were obliged not to take up Arms for him againſt King *James*; and ſo conſequently it deprived him of their Aſſiſtance: But when he had once ſubdued the Forces, and obtained the Throne of that Infatuated Monarch; of what uſe can it be to him to have his Subjects ſo frequently told, That it is lawful for them to take Arms and Defend themſelves, their Rights and Religions againſt him? I doubt not but His Majeſty intends to Govern us with the utmoſt Clemency and Mercy according to our Laws: But when neither *Moſes* nor

David could always please their Subjects; It is to be feared the best of Princes may at one time or other need the Influence of the Doctrine of Passive Obedience to restrain the *madness of the People*: and therefore they can be no Friends to Government in general; nor to him, or his, in particular, who are so zealous to have the Doctrine of Non-resistance extirpated out of the World. The consequence of which, is, *That it is Lawful for every Man to Rebel against his Lawful Prince, whenever he thinks it necessary.*

My design therefore in this Discourse being to put an end, as far as I can, to this unseasonable Dispute. I shall endeavour to prove these Particulars, as to the Friends of the late King.

1. That those that believed it, were not thereby bound to assert the Mis-government of *James* the Second.

2. That seeing he has deserted his Throne, and withdrawn his Person and Seals, they are not thereby obliged to endeavour the restoring of him.

The Doctrine of Passive Obedience doth not oblige a Subject to assert the Mis-government of his Prince: For it supposeth the Prince may command what he ought not, and then it obligeth me to suffer rather than to resist my Prince, or to break the Commandments of God, or the Laws of my Country, or do any other ill Action in Obedience to his Commands. Now what is this to the purpose? King *James* had notoriously subverted all our Constitutions and Laws, both in Church and State, and would suffer no redress; the Church of *England*, on the other hand, Petition'd him from time to time by her Bishops and Nobility, to suffer a Parliament to meet and redress our Grievances; but this he would not yield, and what should they do in this case?

Why, said the Jesuit, in the Answer to the Petition of the 17*th* of *November*, 1688. (when they had set forth, That *in their Opinion the* **Only** *visible way to preserve his Majesty and this his Kingdom, would be the calling of a Parliament Regular and Free in all its circumstances.*) 'I hope to make it out, that the summoning a Parliament now, is so far from being the **Only** way to effect these 'things, that it will be *one* of the Principal Causes of much Misery 'to the Kingdom. *And*, I am sure, *both our Duty to God and our holy Religion, as well as to His Majesty and our Country*, doth plainly enjoyn us to use *one* other effectual means, *&c.* which is the keeping inviolably to our Allegiance to our Sovereign; and effectually joyning with him to resist all his Enemies whether Foreign Aggressors, or Native Rebels. That is, let the King do what he please

History of the Desertion, p. 48.

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to you, you are bound to fight for him and expel the Prince of *Orange*, and ſubdue all his Adherents.

I can very well remember what ſmall effect this Oratory had then upon the minds of all Men. There did not ſeem to be one Proteſtant in the Nation, who could not diſtinguiſh between the Doctrine of Non-reſiſtance and that of actually aiding a Prince to deſtroy and enſlave his People. His late Majeſty however perſiſted in his Opinion, that no Parliament could be holden till the Prince of *Orange* was driven out; and the Clergy and Nobility in theirs, that this was the *Only viſible way* to preſerve the late King and Kingdom: which imply'd, that all fighting was dangerous to both, till this was done. And accordingly, as we had no diſloyal Exhortations from Preſs or Pulpit to perſwade Men to fight againſt their Prince; ſo neither had we any to perſwade us to fight for him: but the thing was committed to God to determine as he thought fit.

In this our Biſhops, Clergy, Nobility and Gentry; and in general all the Children of the Church of *England* behaved themſelves like good Chriſtians and good Subjects too; this difficult Caſe could then be no otherwiſe well and juſtifiably managed; and if ſome few forgot their Duty, and declared too ſoon for the Prince of *Orange*, his now Majeſty; this they only are reſponſible for; thoſe that adhered to the late King till he actually left the Nation and the Government, fell for want of the firſt Mover, are not reſponſible for their Miſcarriage if it was one.

In the Primitive times, when this Doctrine was beſt both underſtood and practiſed, their Loyalty was one of their leſſer Virtues, upon which they never valued themſelves. It would have been then a mean piece of Virtue for a Man to have alledged he had been ever Loyal to his Prince, when a Rebel or a Traytor Chriſtian was a thing they looked upon with horror and affrightment; they expected Martyrdom every moment, and were preparing for it at all times; they were told then, at their firſt admiſſion into the Church, that they muſt expect Perſecution, and every one who took up that Profeſſion, did it with that Expectation. And the Religion being contrary to the Eſtabliſhed Laws, whoever came in to it, knew beforehand that at one time or other he might be called to lay down his Life for it, and when it happened, it was no new or unexpected accident, but foreſeen and provided for.

But then they were not ſo ſilly as to be fond of their Perſecutors, or to wiſh or fight for it. *We are* (ſaid *Tertullian*) *defamed as Enemies to the Emperour's Majeſty*; tamen nunquam Albiniani, *Ad Scapulam c. 2.*

nec

Apolog. C. XXXV.

nec Nigriani vel Cassiani inveniri potuerunt Christiani; *Yet never was any Christian found like* Albinus, Pescennius, Niger *or* Avidius Cassius *Usurping the Throne, and Invading the Government.* They prayed for the Emperor, and performed all the Duties of good Subjects till he persecuted them, and endeavoured to destroy the Church of God; but then they changed their Notes, *Quales ergo leges ist, quas adversus nos soli exequuntur impii, injusti, turpes, truces, vani, dementes? What Laws are these which none ever put in Execution against us, but impious, unjust, base, barbarous, vain and mad Princes?* Who ever pleaseth may see enough of this laid together in *Jovian*, pag. 161. and 162. There is not one of those Princes who persecuted the Church, but he is represented to the World by the Fathers and Church Historians in the blackest Characters. That little Book that was written by *Lactantius* to shew the dismal Ends, and sad Catastrophies of the Persecuting Princes, shews how far they were from being fond of Persecution or Persecutors; and by what hand soever the enraged Fool fell, the deliverance was ascribed to God, who makes use of such instruments as he thinks fit to punish bloody and tyrannical Men. And let any Man shew me that the Primitive Christians were discontented when they were delivered, if he can.

Euseb. H.E. lib. 7. c. 1. & lib. 10. c. X. de Vita Const. lib. 2. c. 2. Tertul. Apol. cap. 6.

So far were some of the Ancient Fathers from fighting for the persecuting Princes, when they hapned to be dethroned or invaded, that they would not suffer a baptised Person to list himself in the service of a Pagan Prince, *Tertullian. de corona, cap.* 11. To which purpose he alledgeth that passage of our Saviour. *He that takes the Sword, shall perish by the Sword*: But then, saith he, *Plane si quos militia præventos fides posterior invenit, alia conditio est. Those who were admitted to Baptism after they were listed in the Service of the Emperor, were not under the same obligation.* And we have the Passion of one *Maximilian*, an *African*, who suffered Martyrdom for no other Cause, but for that he would not serve the Emperor as a Soldier. And the Council of *Arles*, which first admitted baptized Persons to take up Arms, limited the Grant to times of *Peace*; which was all one with the saying, They would not allow it under Pagan Princes. From all which I may reasonably infer, They did not think themselves bound to bestir themselves for Pagan or persecuting Princes, as if the Church must have perished, if they had not had the Honour to preserve every Prince God had set over them till he had ended his Reign and his Life together.

Anno Christi 295. Cum Ecclesia pace gauderet: & proinde in Maximilianum animadvertitur ob spretam Militiam, non ob fidem Christianam.

Yet

Yet in all theſe times the Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience was at the Higheſt never call'd in queſtion, never doubted of. It is as true alſo, The Roman Emperors, under whom they lived, were abſolute Independent Princes, whoſe Will was the Law; and the conſtitution of the Empire differed vaſtly from that of *England*. So that we are not under the ſame Obligations they were, becauſe our Princes have not the ſame Legal Powers the Roman Emperors had: but then, I doubt not, but we are as much bound to ſubmit to the Legal Commands of a King of *England*, as the Primitive Chriſtians were to the Legal Commands of their Princes. But this was no part of the Controverſie under the Reign of *James* II. who had as little Law as Reaſon for what he did.

I could never meet with one ſingle Proteſtant, how diſcontented ſoever he was, that *James* II. is not ſtill King of *England*, who would pretend to juſtifie or excuſe any of his Actions; no, they all grant his Deſign was certainly to extirpate the Proteſtant Religion, to enſlave, and conſequently to extirpate the Engliſh Nation: but then ſay they, What of all that, *no evil is to be done*; we ought not to rebel to ſave a Church or a Nation.

Why, what then? ſuppoſing all this were true, What is this to them? Have any of them rebelled? Yes, ſay they, all that have ſworn Allegiance to their preſent Majeſties, have made defection from *James* II. who tho' he were never ſo bad a Man, is ſtill our lawful Prince, and we are bound to ſwear Allegiance to no other, as long as he is alive.

To this I reply, If the things laid to the Charge of *James* II. in the Prince of *Orange*'s Declaration, are true, and I think no body queſtions that, for all the ſame things, in a manner, are complained of in the Biſhops Propoſals, but one or two, which were too high for any Subject to take notice of; why then, I ſay, That Prince had a juſt Cauſe to make War upon *James* II. and if he was conquered by him, he has as good Right to our Allegiance, on that ſcore, as ever any conquering Prince had.

But this is not all, It is well known, His now Majeſty offered to ſubmit all his Controverſies to the Deciſion of an Engliſh Parliament, which is more, perhaps, than was ever done by any invading Prince before; but *James* II. was reſolved, That neither he nor we ſhould have any Right or Redreſs; but rather than ſubmit to that, he would go make a Voyage to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty for his Aſſiſtance to make a ſecond Conqueſt of us.

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There has been much bandying, Whether *James* II. went voluntarily away, or were forced; and this is a Queſtion not worth one Farthing, at the bottom. For if he went voluntarily, he was forced; and if he was forced, he went voluntarily.

I ſuppoſe no Man ever ſaid or thought he freely reſigned the Crown, but that his Miſ-government had raiſed ſuch Jealouſies and Diſcontents in the Minds of his Subject, that they neither could nor would fight for him till he had in Parliament done Right, firſt to his People, and then to the Prince. This he was reſolved not to grant, be the Event what it would; and when he ſaw himſelf deſerted by all the World, ſtill he perſiſted in his Reſolution; and after he had promiſed a Parliament, broke his Word with the Prince and the Nation, and withdrew his Perſon and Seals, and left us in Anarchy and Confuſion. Now, I ſay, he was not forced to do this: he might, and as the caſe ſtood, he was bound to have granted a Parliament, and then he might have ſtaid with good ſafety to his Perſon and Sovereignty.

Now, if there be nothing asked of a Prince by his Neighbour-Prince upon an Invaſion, but what he ought to grant and may grant; he is forced by no body but himſelf, if he will run away from his People, rather than do them and his Neighbour Right.

But then, when we ſay, His retreat was voluntary, we do not pretend there was no force made uſe of, but that it was not made uſe of to that end. All that was asked by the Prince or his own Subjects, was a free and legal Parliament; and all the force that was uſed was to that End: And this he might and ought to have granted; but if he would not, the Prince is not to be ſuppoſed to have brought 14000 Men, only to make a vain Shew with all, but either to force him to do him Right, or force him out of his Kingdom.

This Prince was no Subject to King *James*, nor to any other Prince, and conſequently was no Rebel: He had as well good Right as a good Cauſe to invade this injurious Prince who had injured both him and his good Subjects, and without a War would do no right either to the Prince or us. For the Prince had tried all fair waies before he tried Force, as is notoriouſly known to all the World.

But our *Jacobites* prate of the Force that was uſed againſt him by another Sovereign Prince, as injurious, only becauſe it was Force. Why, the Prince was no Subject, and if *James* II. would do him no right without Force (tho' we that were then his Subjects had no Right to compel him) HE might lawfully compel him by Force to do what he ought to have done without it, but would not.

What

What Stupidity is it to deny a Sovereign Prince may make uſe of Force againſt a neighbouring Prince that has done him Wrong?

Well, but ſay they, His Subjects ought to have fought for King *James*: To which I ſay, Why did they not, who hindred them from fighting? No, they would not fight, or, which is all one, they durſt not; and now he is gone, they think to make him amends, by a ſullen diſclaiming of the preſent King's Sovereignty.

But tho' they will not ſwear, they will promiſe to live peaceably under this King: That is, they will not own him for the lawful King of *England*, but they will ſubmit to him as they did to *Oliver Cromwel*, till they have an Opportunity to dethrone him, and deliver him into the Hand of King *James*; and for this they would be allowed the ſame Condition with thoſe Subjects that have ſworn Allegiance to him. Is this reaſonable? will they admit a Servant or a Rival on the ſame Terms into their own Families?

Well but ſome of his Subjects forſook, and others of them fought againſt him, and almoſt all the reſt ſtood ſtill, and would not fight for him. 1. What is this to them, if they have done as much for him as they could or ought, they ſhall anſwer for no body but themſelves. 2. What was the Reaſon, and who gave the Cauſe of this general Deſertion? 3. It is denied that King *James* his Subjects were bound to ſtand by him and fight for him. He had notoriouſly invaded and deſtroyed all our Civil and Religious Rights and Liberties, and deſigned the Ruine and Deſtruction both of them and us, and would give us no Aſſurance, we could rely on, to do otherwiſe for the future; and therefore if it were unlawful to reſiſt him, it was alſo as unlawful to aſſiſt and enable him to deſtroy the true Religion, the Engliſh Liberties and Immunities; nay the very Nation.

Now *Jovian* tells us, pag. 272. 'Whoſoever acts contrary to 'Law, in this Realm, to the Prejudice of any other Perſon, muſt 'be ſubject to make Reparation by Law; *againſt which the King 'himſelf can protect no Man, as long as the Courts of Law are kept open*; (this has been ſufficiently confuted) 'ſo that there can be no Ty-'ranny, nor any Perſecution, but a moſt exorbitant and illegal Per-'ſecution, which muſt preſuppoſe, That Juſtice is obſtructed, the 'Laws and Lawyers ſilenced, the Courts of Judicature ſhut up, 'and that the King governs altogether by Arbitrary Power and the 'Sword. (The Courts were indeed open, but we know for all that, no Man could have any redreſs; but the Conſequences were the ſame as if they had been ſhut up.) 'But to ſuppoſe this (ſaith

the Doctor) 'is plainly to ſuppoſe the utmoſt poſſibility, which 'is next to an impoſſibility, a poſſibility indeed in Theory, but ſcarce 'to be reduced into Practice, *For in ſuch a violent Undertaking all 'good Men would withdraw from the Service and Aſſiſtance of the King*; (mark that) '*and the Bad durſt not ſerve him, becauſe if he died, or 'repented of his Undertaking, they muſt be anſwerable for all the Wrongs 'and Illegalities they were guilty of in his Service.* And a little lower he tells us, 'To ſhut up the Laws or obſtruct and pervert Juſtice, 'would prove an exceeding difficult and almoſt impracticable Un-'dertaking, *becauſe* all his good Subjects, and all the bad too, that 'tendered their own Safety, would deſert him; nay Foreigners, 'upon this account, would make a Difficulty to ſerve him, becauſe 'he could not protect them againſt his own Laws.

Now all this was done and averred in the Face of the Sun, this Poſſibility was brought into act, and things driven on to the utmoſt Extremity; and the only Queſtion then was, Whether we ſhould intail this arbitrary tyrannical exorbitant Perſecution on our Poſte-rity, without any Hopes or Poſſibility of Redreſs, or whether we ſhould withdraw from his Service, and ſecure our Rights and Religion by it? And this was done by all but the Iriſh and Pa-piſts, both Good and Bad, in a manner, as the Doctor foretold it would; and to me it ſeems altogether juſtifiable. I know the Doctor means only a Civil Receſs; but if it was highly puniſhable and Infamous to have perſiſted in a co-operation and Aſſiſtance of theſe things, it was worſe and more puniſhable to have fought for them.

And from hence I conclude, All that did withdraw from the Service of the late King, when they ſaw he was reſolved on theſe illegal exorbitant Courſes, are not to be blamed; and that the beſt of the Primitive Chriſtians would have done the ſame thing, if it had been their lot to have fallen under ſuch a Prince.

Tertullian, de corona, c. 12. expounds that Place of Scripture, *Give unto Cæſar the things that are Cæſar's, and unto God the things that are God's. Give the Man to God, and the Penny to Cæſar.* The Man bore God's Image, as the Penny did *Cæſar*'s; and when God and *Cæſar* were in oppoſition, the whole Man was God's Right. So far were they from thinking, their Loyalty to their Prince obliged them to be diſloyal to their Religion, even then when they never thought of Reſiſting, their hands were tyed up neither to aſſiſt nor reſiſt a againſt perſecuting Prince, they would do neither of theſe tho' they periſhed. And are not we ſtill under the ſame Obligations as to

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the latter as well as to the former? For Shame, let no Man boaſt of that Loyalty to his Prince, which makes him Diſloyal to God and his Church, to whom his Duty is firſt owing; for in this Caſe it is our undoubted Duty, *to obey God rather than Man. Art thou then* (ſaith *Tertullian*) *a Servant and Soldier to two, to God and Cæſar too; certainly thou wilt not be for Cæſar when thou oweſt thy Service to God: even in common things, I yield to the better: or I believe thou wilt be for the better.* So far were they then from valuing themſelves upon the ſcore of their Loyalty to their Prince.

The Diſloyalty of two other Parties have made the Church of *England* take into the contrary Extreme; and as a Jeſuit *wiſhed it might do her much good*, in Scorn: So ſhe had like to have paid too dear for the Pretence; and they that would now again ſacrifice her to their Intereſt and Reputation, are, to ſpeak ſoftly, none of her beſt Friends.

They pretend we have not ſuffered enough for our Religion, to juſtifie our Reſiſtance? Why, according to their Principles we are never to reſiſt, whatever we ſuffer, but to ſuffer on till there is not one Man left to reſiſt. Now did ever any Man, before they, complain, That *for the Elect's ſake God had ſhortned thoſe Daies*? If they think we have not ſuffered enough for our Religion, they may be pleaſed to go for *France* or *Ireland*, and there make up what is wanting: But if they love Company, and would needs have us ſuffer with them too, I do not underſtand the Favour. If they are Prodigal of their own Lives and Fortunes in this World, they ought to be tender of other Men's; *Cruces nec colimus, nec optamus*; *We neither worſhip nor wiſh for Croſſes*, ſaid *Octavius*, a Primitive Chriſtian: And it is madneſs to deſire to be, and to bring others into affliction and Trouble, when God doth not willingly afflict or grieve the Children of Men, and hath ſent us a Deliverance, before we expected it, and ſooner than ſome Men are well-pleaſed.

They have another Objection, which is full as extravagant as this; If, ſay they, King *William* has conquered King *James*, why doth he not claim the Crown by Conqueſt? Why, he that has ſeveral Rights to the ſame thing, may uſe his beſt, and wave the reſt. *Nemo jure ſuo quod cum damni periculo conjunctum eſt, uti cogitur*; *Grotius.* No Man is bound to produce an invidious Title: Should King *William* have treated us as a conquered People, they would have been the firſt that would have complained; who now complain, only, becauſe they have not that Caſe. The truth is, they would have

him claim as a Conqueror, that they might thence take occaſion to ruine him; but he has the Right of a Conqueror, and the Right of a Lawful Succeſſor too; and tho' his own perſonal Right of Succeſſion is more remote, that of his Lady is immediate; and by it he claims, to our great Good, and his immortal Honour: And they, in the mean time, might, if they pleaſed, be as ſatisfied in the Right he has by conqueſt, as the *Saxons* were, when King *William* I. won the Crown in a Battle, and wore it, under the Pretence of an Election, becauſe he could lay no Claim to it by Succeſſion: And *Henry* VII. twiſted his Right by Conqueſt with his Deſcent from *Lancaſter*, and his Right by Marriage. But theſe Men ſeem not to care which way our Ruine come, if we may but be miſerable; we have not ſuffered enough under King *James*, but he, too, would fain come in by Conqueſt; and if ever he get the Crown again that way, theſe Gentlemen will have no reaſon to complain of the Want of Sufferings.

Tertullian, who wrote his Apology for the Chriſtians, in or about the Year of Chriſt CC. as *Pamelius* ſtateth the Time, in his Annals of the Life of that Father, ſaith in his firſt Apology, c. 37. *If we Chriſtians would become your publick and declared Enemies, or ſecret Revengers of our own Wrongs, ſhould we want Force and number to ſupport it? We exceed the* Moors, *the* Marcomans, *and the* Parthians, *or any other one ſingle Nation in the whole World; we are but of Yeſterday, and yet we have filled all your Places, your Cities, your Iſlands, Caſtles, Corporations, Councils, Tribes, Companies, Palace, Senate and Forum or Market Place; and we have left you nothing to enjoy alone but your Temples; now we who ſo willingly lay down our Lives, are we not thereby fitted and prepared, do you think, to manage any War, tho' we were very much inferior in Number; if our Religion did not oblige us, rather to ſuffer Death than to inflict it? we might without Arms or Reſiſtance, barely by diſagreeing with you, and the Envy of a Separation, very much endanger and diſquiet you; for if ſo great a part of the Empire, as we now make, ſhould break it ſelf off from the reſt, and retire into any remote Corner of the World, it would certainly confound your Dominions, to loſe ſo many Subjects, be their Quality what it will; yea, our very departure from you would be a ſevere Puniſhment; the Deſolation and Silence we ſhould leave behind us, would ſtrike you with an Horror and Amazement, as if the World were expiring; you would be forced to ſeek for new Subjects to ſupply our Places; and perhaps we ſhould leave you more Enemies than Subjects or Defenders.* This Place has been often cited to prove the Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience;

Obedience; and in truth it is a noble Teſtimony of the Faith and Patience of thoſe Saints: But then the Church continued after this under Pagan and Perſecuting Princes one hundred and ten years, and ſomething more, in which ſhort time there is reckoned about twenty nine Emperors; their times being ſhort, and their ends Bloody; they almoſt all of them periſhing by the Sword. Did any of the Primitive Chriſtians in thoſe days make any ſcruple to ſubmit to the prevailing Power? *The ſame* Author, in this very Apology, puts the Queſtion to the Pagans, *Unde Caſſii, Nigri, & Albini, &c. De Romanis (niſi fallor) id eſt, de non Chriſtianis. From whence are all your Uſurpers, Traitors, and Rebels? They were* (if I am not deceived) *all Romans, that is, no Chriſtians.* Thoſe very Loyal Pagans, that Perſecuted the poor Chriſtians, becauſe they would not ſacrifice for the ſafety of the Empire and Emperor; Thoſe Loyal Pagans, who would ſwear falſely by all their Gods, rather than by the ſingle *Genius* of the Emperor, they were the Men that ſo frequently depoſed, murthered, and deſtroyed their Princes; that in one hundred and ten years there was about thirty of them, and ſcarce three in all that time that died a natural Death.

But where were the Numerous body of Loyal Chriſtians in the mean time, who, as he tells *Scapula, were ſo great a Multitude that they were almoſt the greateſt part of every City*; and as he tells us in the other Apology, they were fit to have undertaken any the moſt dangerous War, though they had been inferiour in numbers, who ſo ſtoutly and fearleſly ſuffered deaths, that were extraordinarily dreadful for their Religion? Why did they not appear in the defence of ſome of theſe poor miſerable Emperors, who were thus ſlaughtered one upon the neck of another? How could they ſatisfie their conſciences to pay their Allegiance to thirty Emperors in one hundred and ten years, and ſuffer above twenty of theſe to be depoſed and murthered without ever in the leaſt concerning themſelves what became of them, or who was in the Imperial Throne. Certainly here was ſome reaſon for this, it was not Cowardice; never in any Age were there greater numbers of Heroical Martyrs than in this Century; four of the ten Perſecutions fell in this ſhort period of time; and they bore them with all the bravery that any of their Anceſtors had ſhewn. The Depoſing Doctrine was not then dreamt of; At the end of this dreadful Century they were as Innocent as at the beginning of it, there was never a Traytor or Uſurper to be yet charged upon the

Cap. 2. Tanta hominum multitudo, pars pene major Civitatis cujuſque.

the Chriſtian Church. Well, but what then, why did they ſuffer the Pagans to murther their Princes at this rate? How could they in conſcience pray for thirty Emperors in one hundred and ten years, moſt of which were ſtained with the Royal Bloods of their Predeceſſors; and who had no other Title than that of a Proſperous Uſurpation and a ſucceſsful Rebellion? Let the Jacobites of our Age come forth now, and try if they can juſtifie theſe Primitive Chriſtians in all this; let them produce their Arguments and form Apologies for them, which ſhall not at the ſame time be unanſwerable Objections againſt their own Practice.

All that I can ſay for theſe Holy Men, is this, They followed the Example of our Saviour; and, as he ſaid in another caſe, who made me a Judge and a divider of Civil Inheritances, or of the Titles and Claims of Princes? So they ſaid here, who has given us Power or Command to intereſt our ſelves in theſe things? If we do our Duty and ſubmit to and pray for thoſe Powers that we find ſet over us, by Men as the Inſtruments, by God as the great diſpoſer of Crowns and Scepters, we are ſafe; for it is he that Ruleth in the Kingdoms of Men, and ſets over them Dan. 4. 17. *The baſeſt of Men*, ſuch as *Oliver Cromwel* was, Kings given to ſinful Nations in his *Wrath*, and ſometimes as ſuddenly again taken away in his *Anger*; and at others continued longer for the Tryal of his People or the chaſtiſement of wicked Men.

De civitate Dei, lib. V. cap. 21. St. *Auſtin* ſaith, *Let us aſcribe the gift of Kingdoms and Imperial Powers to none but the True God; he that gives eternal felicity in the Kingdom of Heaven to none but the Pious: but the Earthly Kingdom, both to the good and to the bad, as he pleaſeth, who is not pleaſed with injuſtice: For though we ſhould in this caſe ſay all we know, yet it would at laſt be impoſſible for us, to ſearch the hearts of Men, and by a clear diſcovery to judge of the juſtice of* (God in relation to) *Kingdoms. That one True God therefore, who needs neither the Approbation* (Judgment) *nor aſſiſtance of Men, when he pleaſed, and as far as he pleaſed, gave the Empire of the World to the* Romans, *who gave it before that to the* Aſſyrians *and* Perſians. And a little lower, 'He that gave the Kingdom or 'Empire to *Marius*, gave it to *Julius Cæſar*; he that gave it to '*Auguſtus*, gave it alſo to *Nero*; He that gave it to *Veſpaſian* and '*Titus*, two merciful ſweet Princes, gave it alſo to *Domitian*, 'a moſt cruel Prince: And that I may not be forced (ſaith he) to 'run through all the Particulars, he that gave it to *Conſtantine*, 'a Chriſtian, gave it to *Julian* an Apoſtate, whoſe great parts

'and

'and Sacrilegious and deteſtable curioſity was deceived by the 'love of Empire; who truſting afterwards in thoſe vain Ora-'cles to which he was too much addicted, and being too 'ſecure of the Victory they had promiſed him, burnt his Navy 'on the *Tigris*, which ſhould have ſupplied his Army with Pro-'viſions, and raſhly purſuing irrational Deſigns, was deſervedly cut 'off in the Enemies Country.

Now I would fain have our *Jacobites* tell me, whether the ſame True God has abandoned the Government of the World, and when he did ſo? Did he give the Empire of the World to *Nero*, to *Domitian*, to *Julian* the Apoſtate, all Uſurpers, and ſome of them Murderers of their Predeceſſors? nay, to *Marius*, who was the very Image of *Oliver Cromwel*? and has he not ſince that done any thing of that Nature? Did not he that gave the Kingdom of *England* to King *James*, give it alſo to King *William*? Did not the Primitive Fathers ſubmit to, and pray for *Nero*, *Domitian* and *Julian*, though Murderers and Uſurpers, as well as to *Claudius*, *Titus*, and *Conſtantius*. It was well known, *Claudius* left a Son, whoſe birth was never queſtioned, and that *Nero* was ſet up by the Intriegues of *Agrippina* his Mother; Yet St. *Paul* owned his *power to be of God*, Rom. 13. For in that Princes Reign, this Epiſtle was written, as Biſhop *Pearſon* proves in his Annals of St. *Paul*, pag. 15. But the Chriſtians were few in number then. Well, but they were numerous enough in the ſecond and third Century, but they were all of St. *Auguſtin's* mind then too, and left God to diſpoſe of the Kingdoms of the World as he thought fit. Now how did they know that he had given the Empire in their times to this or that Man, but by the event? and was that ſufficient to juſtifie them in their acquieſcing in, and ſubmitting to, the Will of God thus diſcovered and will not the ſame be ſufficient to us too? Is not the ſame Providence as powerful and as vigilant in our times as in theirs?

For my part I was none of them that did, or durſt have reſiſted or Rebelled againſt King *James*: but when he choſe rather to leave his Kingdom, than to do his Subjects Right; it was juſt with God and Man to confirm the Election he had made; and ſeeing he would not continue in the Station, God had placed him in (that of a Regular and Limited Monarchy) but aſpired to an Abſolute and unlimited Arbitrary Empire, and perſecuted thoſe who had ſet him up and preſerved him in his Throne; It was juſt, I ſay, that God ſhould ſay unto him as he did to

Saul,

Saul, Becauſe thou haſt rejected the word of the Lord; he hath rejected thee from being King. Seeing you have provoked and deſerted your People, and have fled into a ſtrange Country, when you might by obſerving your Oath and your Laws, have lived happily in your own; you ſhall reap the fruit of your own folly, *and I will give it to a neighbour of thine that is better than you.*

Now I would fain know of my Country men, who are ſtill diſſatisfied, what I or any of the other Members of the Church of *England*, who never reſiſted King *James* till he left us, have done more than the Primitive Chriſtians did in the like Circumſtances; and I would have them produce but one Example in all thoſe times of a Chriſtian that did ſcruple to ſubmit to, or pray for, the Prince that was ſet over him, be his Title what it would. And when his hand is in, let him ſhew me the Chriſtian that deſired the Reſtitution of *Diocleſian* or *Licinius*, two perſecuting Princes, who were as manifeſtly laid aſide as King *James* was or could be; ſuppoſing he was purely forced, and that there was nothing of his will in it, which yet were a very extravagant Suppoſition.

Lactantius de mortibus perſecutorum.
Euſeb. H.E. lib. VIII. c. 13.

2. I come now to the Second thing, I propoſed to examine, whether thoſe who ſtand for the Non-reſiſting Doctrine are by it bound to endeavour the Reſtitution of *James* the Second, now he had deſerted the Throne, and withdrawn his Perſon and Seals?

I have in part anticipated this Enquiry in the former part, as it was impoſſible to do otherwiſe, by ſhewing the Primitive Chriſtians who owned and practiſed this Doctrine to the higheſt, did yet never concern themſelves for the Titles or Succeſſions of their Princes, but ſubmitted to thoſe they found in the Throne, good, or bad, by what Right, Title or Pretence ſoever they came in.

The only reaſon that can be given for this, is what I have aſſigned out of St. *Auguſtin*, *viz.* That the Kingdoms of the World were ſo particularly under the Government of God, that no perſon could uſurp them without his particular Gift and Providence. They did not in this caſe make any difference between his *Approbation* and *Permiſſion*: They knew and acknowledged this thing was managed in ſuch manner, that it was impoſſible for Man ſometimes after the utmoſt ſearch to find out the reaſon of it; but yet they ſaid alſo with St. *Auguſtin*,

God

God could approve nothing but what was juſt, and in this be ſure nothing could happen but what he approved: no force, no fraud ever prevailed againſt any Prince that was in Poſſeſſion, but by the Will, and Approbation of God Almighty.

The only Objection that can be made againſt this, is, That this will ſeem to make God the Author or Approver of the ill things that have been done to good Princes in the ſeveral Ages of the World. To which I reply, That God has very great Reaſon and Juſtice in all his Actions, though it is not always known to Men. The beſt of Men have been guilty of great offences, ſome of which have not been known to Men in general, and others that were known have not been committed to writing, and are loſt; but when all things ſhall in the laſt Day be diſcovered, then it will appear, That God was juſt in all his ways, and righteous in all his works.

And though God has pleaſed to ſettle the Kingdom of the World in certain Families and Perſons as he thought fit, yet he has not thereby bound up his own hands ſo, that let them do what they pleaſe, every perſon that is by his Providence exalted to a Throne muſt neceſſarily Reign till his Death, and ſhall then be ſucceeded by none but his next right Heir. God never made a perſonal promiſe to any Family, but that of *David*; and after that to *Jehu*: but in the Family of *David* (as the Promiſe was in part conditional) there were many falſe ſteps, and aberrations from the true Rules of an Hereditary Succeſſion; and for the ſins of *Solomon*, God rent ten of the Tribes out of the hand of *Rehoboam* his Son, which never after returned under the Houſe of *David*; and though this is ſtiled a Rebellion, yet God owns *that this thing was from him*, 1 King. 12. 24. And the Family of *Jehu* ended in the fourth deſcent, as it was foretold.

Now put theſe two together, That there is a particular Providence, that particularly concerns it ſelf in the diſpoſing of Crowns, againſt which neither Fraud nor Force can prevail: And, That God has an abſolute Right, as well as full Power to diſpoſe of the Kingdoms of the World as he pleaſe; and accordingly has in every Age of the World, *de facto*, diſpoſed of them; and the Concluſion will be, That whoſoever aſcends a Throne, and reigns in any Kingdom, doth it by the Will and Appointment of God: And in this no Wrong is done by God, for he may diſpoſe of what is his own, when and how he pleaſe: All Princes are Gods *Miniſters* and

Deputies, and, when he pleaſe, he may lay them aſide, and ſet up others in their ſtead.

And this in general is true of all Princes, Good and Bad; but as to the latter, to what purpoſe are Prayers and Tears ſtiled, The Arms of the Church againſt perſecuting Princes, if they were of no Force? to what purpoſe ſhould Men cry unto the Lord, becauſe of the King, if he were reſolved never to hear them; or which is all one, never to help them? And the Difficulty is the ſame yet; if I may not accept of a Deliverance, when it comes. Why, if God is pleaſed to put an end to the Life of an ill Prince, and to ſet up the next immediate Succeſſor, then I may ſay I am delivered? But when did God oblige himſelf to this? That he would exerciſe this his moſt Sovereign Juriſdiction, over Princes, only one way; and that every Prince ſhould be ſucceeded by none but his next immediate Heir: Where has he obliged us to accept of no other Deliverance, and to reject all other Succeſſors but thoſe that we took to be the right, with the loſs of our Lives and Fortunes? Did the Primitive Fathers of the Church act or write thus, or how come we to be under other Laws than they were?

If *James* II. governed us as he ought, according to his Laws and his Oath, we are bound, in Gratitude, to deſire the continuance of his Government, and to be much concerned that we are not ſtill under his Scepter; for he was once the undoubted rightful King of *England*: But if it was otherwiſe, if he perſecuted that Church, he promiſed and was bound to protect, and did not treat us like *Engliſhmen*, but like Slaves, what reaſon have we to deſire, now we are delivered, to be again brought into the ſame Circumſtances we ſo lately groaned under? *Nero*, *Domitian* and *Decius*, the three firſt Perſecutors of the Chriſtian Church, all of them periſhed by the Sword; but *Valerian*, the fourth, as he is reckoned by *Lactantius*, did not eſcape neither; *At illum Deus novo ac ſingulari pœnæ genere adfecit, ut eſſet poſteris documentum adverſarios Dei ſæpe dignam ſcelere ſuo recipere mercedem*: *God took a new Courſe with him, and inflicted upon him a new kind of Puniſhment, that he might teach Poſterity, That the Enemies of God do often meet with a Recompence worthy of their Wickedneſs; for he being taken Priſoner by the Perſians, loſt not only his Sovereignty, which he had moſt inſolently abuſed, but his Liberty alſo, which he had deprived others unjuſtly of; and he continued in wretched Servitude to the Day of his Death; not only deſtitute of Help or Pity, but ſcorned and trodden upon by his proud Enemy.* Did the Chriſtians of this Age petition for their old Perſecutor, did they refuſe to be

under

under the milder Government of his Son *Gallienus*, becauſe the Father was ſtill living, tho' in Captivity? No, he tells us, That this was added to his Puniſhment; that though he had a Son, which ſucceeded in the Empire, yet there was no Revenger of his Captivity and Slavery, *nec omnino repetitus eſt*, nor was he, in the leaſt, ever demanded or deſired. *Euſeb. l. 7. c. 13. miſſis literis perſecutionem adverſus noſtros commotam ſedavit.*

Next after him aroſe † *Aurelian*, a mad and a raſh Prince, who was cut off in the beginning of his Rage: After him came * *Dioclesian*, who was hardly perſuaded to begin a *Perſecution*, but raged more than any of his Predeceſſors; ſoon after he fell into a Sickneſs, and was thought by the Violence of it to have been dead; but tho' he eſcaped with his Life, he was a long time diſtracted, and was forced by *Galerius*, *Imperio cedere*, to reſign the Empire, in the Year 305. † and although he lived to the Year 313. which was nine Years after he was depoſed, none of the Chriſtians of that Age deſired he ſhould again aſcend the Throne. † *Euſeb. H. E. l. 7. c. 30. p. 231.* * *Euſeb. l. 8. c. 13. Lactantius de mortibus perſecut.* † *Jacchus & chronicon Alexandrinum*, ſay, he lived to the Year 316.

One of the laſt of the Pagan Princes, that perſecuted the Church, was *Licinius*, upon whom *Conſtantine* made War, for that very Cauſe, and reduced him to a private Life, in *Thrace*, in the Year 324. and in the Year 325. put him to death, for endeavouring to recover his Throne: But neither here did the Chriſtians, that were his Subjects, deſire again to be under their Pagan Perſecuting Prince, rather than under their Deliverer, *Conſtantine*.

Julian the *Apoſtate* was the laſt Pagan Prince that reigned in the Roman Empire, and he periſhed in *Perſia*, by an unknown Hand, within two Years and one Month; and was followed, both living and dead, with the Deteſtation of that, and all the ſucceeding Ages. S. *Ambroſe*, as he is cited by *Grotius*, *de jure belli & pacis*, ſaith, This *Apoſtate had many Chriſtian Soldiers under him, who when he commanded them, To ſtand to their Arms, againſt the common Enemy of their Country, obeyed him; but when he commanded them to fight againſt the Chriſtians, then they acknowledged the Emperor of Heaven*: That is, they refuſed to ſerve him in this. And the famous *Thebean* Legion made this their Apology, *We offer our Service againſt any Enemy; but we eſteem it an Impiety to ſtain them with the Bloods of Innocent Men: You may command our Hands againſt the Wicked and your Enemies, but we cannot butcher the Pious, and our fellow-Subjects. We do well remember, That we took up Arms for, and not againſt our Countrymen; and we have ever fought for Juſtice, for Piety, and the Preſervation of the Innocent: Theſe things have hitherto been the Rewards of our Dangers. Shall we, oh Sir, ever be able to keep our Faith and our promiſe to you;* *Lib. 1. cap. 1. §. 9.*

if we now fail of performing our Promiſe to our God? They were then ſaid to be led into *France*, to fight againſt the *Baganda*, a ſort of *outlawed Chriſtians*, who were forced, by the Iniquity of the Times, to take up Arms under *Diocleſian*; and were all of them deſtroyed by *Maximianus*; ſo that if that Story be true, it is a pregnant Teſtimony, That the Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience* doth not oblige any Man to lend his Aſſiſtance to the Ruine of the true Religion.

Socratis H. Eccl. lib. 2. cap. 12, 13, 27. Beſide theſe Pagan Princes, there were ſome *Arian* Princes, who treated the Catholicks of their Times very hardly; and though none of the Chriſtians of thoſe Times rebelled againſt them, yet neither would the Catholicks aſſiſt the Arian Princes againſt the Catholick Biſhops, as is plain in the Story of *S. Ambroſe*, and the many Tumults at *Conſtantinople*, *Antioch* and *Alexandria*, in thoſe Times; and when theſe Princes fell by the Juſtice of God, in Civil or Foreign Wars, their Ends were looked upon as deſerved: Thus *Valens* periſhed in *Thrace*, and *Valentinian*, the younger, at *Vienne*, the one by the Hands of the Goths, and the other by the Procurement of *Arbogaſtes*, an Uſurper; and the untimely Deaths of theſe two Princes, proved the Exaltation of *Theodoſius*, the Reſettler of the Catholick Religion, and the extirper of *Arianiſm*, in the Roman Empire.

In all the various Events of theſe Times, the Providence of God ordered things for the good of his Church, and the Chriſtians of thoſe Times, left them to his Diſpoſal, and ſubmitted to thoſe he ſet over them, quietly, and without diſputing their Rights or Titles; whereas *Procopius*, who claimed the Empire, as couſin to *Julian* the Emperor, periſhed in the Attempt, without pity, or the Regard of the Church.

There is no part of the Reign of *James* II. that has not been examined and repreſented by many Pens; ſo that it were a needleſs, but an ungrateful Task for me, to rip it up again; it may ſuffice to ſay, in general, Never any of our Princes ſo openly attempted the Ruine of the Engliſh Liberties, or went ſo far in it; never did any Man more openly endeavour the Ruine of an eſtabliſhed Religion, or by more illegal Courſes than he: nor Laws, nor Oaths, nor Promiſes, nor Gratitude could reſtrain him; he broke through all the Barriers God and Man had put in his Way, and ſeemed reſolved to ruine us or Himſelf; no Remonſtrances from abroad, no Petitions at home, could work upon him, till he ſaw the Sword coming to cut up the *Gourd* he had planted, and was ſo fond of; then indeed, he ſeemed to relent and to give back; but ſtill he would

would be truſted; he would yield up nothing, but ſo as that he might, when the Danger was over, re-aſſume the ſame again. An *Engliſh Parliament* was the thing, in the World, he moſt hated, becauſe he foreſaw, if it was Free, there was an end, for ever, of the Hopes of ſetting up Popery in this Kingdom; and that was his main and almoſt only Deſign; and yet, as fond as he ever ſeemed to be of an Abſolute and Uncontroulable Power, if he had been of our Church, he would not have hazarded all for it, but he would have managed Things with ſome Reſerve; but the Jeſuites he took into his Boſom, and his Queen, eſpecially, ſpurred him on; and put him upon theſe Courſes, only by repreſenting to him the Glory and Merit of extirpating the Northern Hereſies, and ſettling the Catholick Religion in *England*.

Well, but what has he done ſince he left us, that may give us any Aſſurance, we were miſtaken, as to what was paſt, or may hope for better Uſage for time to come? Why, there have been ſome General Promiſes made: In the Letter, pretended to be ſent to the Lords and Commons of *England*, and afterwards printed in *London*, he, or ſome other Perſon for him, tells us; *We are reſolved, Nothing ſhall be omitted on our Part (whenever we can with Safety return) that can contribute towards the Redreſs of all former Errors, or preſent Diſorders, or add to the ſecuring of the Proteſtant Religion, or the Property of every individual Subject; intending to refer the whole to a Parliament, legally called, freely elected, and held, without conſtraint; wherein we ſhall not only have a particular regard to the Church of* England, *as by Law eſtabliſhed, but alſo give ſuch Indulgence to Diſſenters, as our People ſhall have no reaſon to be jealous of,* **not expecting, for the future, any other Favour to thoſe of Our own Perſuaſion, than the exerciſe of their Religion in their own private Families.**

This Letter bears date at *S. Germans en Laye, Feb.* 3. 168$\frac{8}{9}$.

The Letter to the Convention of *Scotland* runs in a higher ſtrain.

WE think fit to let you know, That We have at all Times relied upon the Faithfulneſs and Affection of you, Our Ancient People, ſo much, that in Our greateſt Misfortunes, heretofore, We had recourſe to your Aſſiſtance, and that with good Succeſs to Our Affairs: ſo now, again, We require of you to ſupport Our Royal Intereſt, expecting from you what becomes Loyal Faithful Subjects, generous and honeſt Men, that will neither ſuffer your ſelves to be cajoled, nor frighted into any Action misbecoming true hearted Scotchmen; *and that to ſupport the*

Honour

Honour of the Nation, you will contemn the baſe Example of Diſloyal Men, and eterniſe your Names, by a Loyalty ſuitable to the many Profeſſions you have made to Us: in doing whereof you ſhall chuſe the ſafeſt part, ſince thereby you will evite the Danger, you muſt needs undergo; the Infamy and Diſgrace you muſt bring upon your ſelves in this World, and the Condemnation due to the Rebellious, in the next; and you will likewiſe have the Opportunity to ſecure to your ſelves and your Poſterity, the gracious Promiſes, We have ſo oft made of ſecuring your Religion, Laws, Properties, Liberties and Rights, which We are **ſtill reſolved to perform,** *as ſoon as is poſſible for Us to meet you ſafely in a Parliament, of Our Ancient Kingdom: In the mean time, fear not to declare for Us, your Lawful Sovereign; who will not fail on Our Parts, to give you ſuch a ſpeedy and powerful Aſſiſtance, as ſhall not only enable you to defend your ſelves from any Foreign Attempt, but put you in a Condition to aſſert our Right againſt our Enemies, who have depreſſed the ſame by the blackeſt of Uſurpations, the moſt unjuſt, as well as the moſt unnatural of all Attempts; which the Almighty God may for a Time permit, and let the Wicked Proſper, yet then muſt bring Confuſion on ſuch Workers of Iniquity. We further let you know, That we will pardon all ſuch as ſhall return to their Duty, before the laſt Day of this Month, incluſive; and that We will puniſh with the Rigor of Our Laws, all ſuch as ſhall ſtand out in Rebellion againſt Us or Our Authority.*

Given on Board the *S. Michael*, *March* 1. 1689.

A Jeſuit, who printed a ſmall Paper, under the Title of *Advices given to his R. H. M. the Prince of* Orange, *by one of his moſt faithful Servants. Your Emiſſaries* (ſaith he) *made uſe of the Mantle of Religion, to create in the Minds of the People* (of *England*) *falſe Impreſſions, of the Deſigns of the King their Maſter; whilſt they who knew the Bottom of the Buſineſs* (the Jeſuites) *and his true Intentions as well as you, are fully perſwaded, That this is a good Prince, who deſireth nothing but to paſs the remainder of his Life in Peace; and who would be well-contented to obtain from his Parliament, the free Exerciſe of his own Religion, without giving the leaſt Diſturbance to that which the greater part of his Subjects profeſs. It is not poſſible for you to take too much care to hinder this Truth from ſpreading it ſelf amongſt the People*, &c.

Thus the late King promiſeth and threatneth; and the true hearted *Jeſuite*, who would not for the World ſpeak one Tittle of Untruth, to an Heretick of the firſt Magnitude, voucheth for him, and would make the whole Society, that Holy Society, which has

has ſo great an Influence over the Mind and Actions of that *good Prince*, *Guarantee* for the Performance of all theſe fine things: Nay, I will undertake, if the Engliſh Hereticks will once more put their Heads into the Yoke, That *Lewis* the Fourteenth, too, ſhall paſs his Royal Word and unqueſtionable Faith, That *James* the Second ſhall, for the future, keep his Faith with them, in ſpite of all the Canons of the Church of *Rome* to the contrary, as well as he himſelf has his to his own Proteſtant Subjects.

The Letter to the *Convention* of *Scotland*, was dated on Board the S. *Michael*, a French Ship, then in the Road of *Breſt*; and the late King was then paſſing in her into *Ireland*; where he arrived the 12th of *March* at *Kinſale*, with twelve French Men of War, three Fire-ſhips and eight Merchant-Ships. *Now, notwithſtanding the King's Promiſe of Pardon to thoſe of* Brandon, *ſeveral were indicted at the Aſſizes, inſomuch that thirty or forty of them fled and came to* Briſtol; *being frighted at the Bloody Proceedings againſt one Mr.* Brown *of* Cork, *who was hanged, drawn and quartered at the ſame Aſſizes. Several Petitions were alſo preferred for the Pardons of Sir* Thomas Southwel *and Captain* Mills *and many others, who being taken in their Way to the North, were carried to* Galloway; *and there tried and condemned to die, but the King rejected their Petition; but however, reprieved them for three Weeks, deferring it till his Arrival at* Dublin, *to which Place he ſet forward on the 21ſt of* March.

Nor was the reſt of his Proceedings, in that miſerable Kingdom unlike this beginning, all the *Engliſh* being plundered of all their Horſes and Arms firſt, then of their Cattle and Houſhold-ſtuff, and at laſt of their very Cloaths, that they might be reduced to a neceſſity of periſhing by Hunger, Nakedneſs and Want; and great numbers of them deſtroyed by pretended Legal Proceedings, becauſe they would not at firſt Summons open their Doors, and ſuffer the Rabble to plunder them of all they had; which I have had from ſome of my near Relations, who fled on that account.

The twenty fifth of *March* a Proclamation was iſſued by him for the ſitting of a Parliament the 7th of *May*, at *Dublin*, as it accordingly did: wherein they paſſed theſe Acts.

I. An Act to levy 20000*l.* a Month for 13 Months.

II. For repealing the Act of Settlement, and reſtoring old Proprietors.

III. For Liberty of Conſcience.

IV. For

IV. For taking off Penal Laws and Oaths.

V. For taking off all Writs of Error and Appeals to *England.*

VI. For taking off Valuation Money and other Rights from the Clergy.

VII. For repealing the Act of the 23d. of *October*, 1641.

VIII. No benefit of Clergy for two Years.

IX. All Patents for Offices void.

X. *Ireland* to be independent of *England.*

They ſeized in the mean time all the Proteſtants Eſtates who fled into *England*; and all this they effected by the 26th of *June.*

1. After this they paſſed an Act for repealing *Poyning*'s Law.

2. Againſt counterfeiting Foreign Coins.

3. And an Act for the attainting of many hundreds of the Nobility and Gentry of *Ireland*, who were fled to *England.*

But the Town of *London-Derry* holding out, and an Army being every Day expected from *England*, the 18th of *July* this Parliament was prorogued till *October*: And notwithſtanding their Act for Liberty of Conſcience, and the dreadful Expectation of a ſudden Revenge from *England*, the Popiſh Clergy took poſſeſſion of the Tithes and Church Revenues; and many of the Proteſtant Clergy, were clapt up in Priſon, in order to be ſent into *France.*

All that our diſcontented Party, here in *England*, have to ſay to all this is, That we muſt not believe *all* is told, as out of *Ireland*; but they mean, That we muſt believe *nothing of it*, but call in King *James*, and try if he will uſe us at the ſame rate.

We have a Proverb, That *Experience is the Miſtreſs of Fools*; and certainly none but ſuch will come a ſecond time under her Diſcipline, when they have ſo lately tried it; and ſee every Day hundreds of the Nobility, Gentry and Clergy of *Ireland* flee hither to ſave their Lives, with the loſs of all beſides, who agree very exactly one with another in theſe dreadful Stories.

Now let it be conſidered, That nothing was asked by the Biſhops, in their Propoſals, and by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in their Petition of the 17th of *November*, but a free and legal Parliament, and the redreſs of our Grievances; and that this was the principal thing inſiſted on by the Prince of *Orange* in his Declaration; *viz.* That a free and legal Parliament might ſettle and adjuſt all things in Difference or Diſputes; and that it was obſtinately

refuſed

refuſed till the 28*th* of that Month, and then granted when it could be no longer denyed, the greateſt part of the Nobility and Army being then gone over to the Prince.

Let alſo that Paſſage in the Proclamation of the 30*th* of *November* be conſidered. *For the reconciling all Publick breaches and obliterating the very Memory of all paſt Miſcarriages, We do hereby Exhort and kindly Admoniſh all our Subjects to diſpoſe themſelves to Elect ſuch Perſons, for their Repreſentatives in Parliament, as may not be byaſſed by Prejudice, or Paſſion, but qualified with Parts, Experience and Prudence proper for this Conjuncture, and agreeable to the Ends and Purpoſes of this Our Gracious Proclamation.* And after this, that by his Meſſage of the 8*th* of *December*, ſent by the three Lords to the Prince of *Orange*, He promiſed, *That he would conſent to every thing that could be reaſonably required for the ſecurity of thoſe that came to it*; that is, to the Parliament. And that the 10*th* of *December* he ſent for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen and Sheriffs of *London* to *Whitehall*, and again paſſed his Word to them, That though the Queen and Child were gone for *France*, *He would ſtay with them*; And though this Evening he received ſuch an Anſwer from the Prince to his Propoſals, that he could not but acknowledge, *It was fairer than he could or did expect*; Yet after all theſe ſolemn ingagements he burnt the Writs for the Summoning a Parliament, and went the very next Morning away for *France*, as his Roman Catholick Friends had foretold he would above a fortnight before. And who accordingly ſent a Letter to him whilſt he was at *Salisbury*, perſwading him to come back from thence, and withdraw himſelf out of the Kingdom, *and leave it in confuſion*; *Aſſuring him*, *That within two years or leſs the Nation would be in ſuch Diſorder, that he might come back and have his Ends of it*: That is, Ruine both our Civil Rights and our Religion.

When all theſe ſolemn promiſes were thus eaſily broken, or rather never intended to be kept at the very time they were made, and all thoſe he has ſince made have been violated in *Ireland*, where only he had power to keep or break his word, what can we conclude, but that, as a Miniſter of State told our Planters, *It is very undecent, not to ſay undutiful, to tax* (this) *King with his Promiſes*; Who of all Mankind has ſhewn the leaſt regard in time paſt to them, and for time to come can never be blamed for any breach? the Parties that take his word being alone reſponſible for their Incorrigible folly.

Some of theſe Men have confeſſed to me, That if ever he be reſtored *they expect to be treated as they were before* (without Truth, Juſtice or Mercy) but *yet if it be his Right, he muſt have it.* And they cannot think his Right can be determined but by Death or a voluntary ſurrender, or a Conqueſt made by meer Foreigners, to the utter Ruine of the *Engliſh* Nation. And they will admit no Anſwer to theſe their Scruples, but what ſhall be palpable, convictive to that degree that they can make no Objection againſt it. Now if they admit all the dreadful conſequences that attend this relapſe, and yield up both Church and Nation to certain and inevitable ruine, only that they may not be damned for Perjury and Diſobedience to a King that has left them when he might have ſtaied; and now offereth to return and do what he then refuſed; What ſhall we alſo conſent and ſacrifice our ſelves and our Poſterity to the humour or ſcruples of theſe Men? Shall we ſuffer the *Engliſh* Church, Liberties, and the very People of *England* to be deſtroyed to gratifie two or three hundred perſons?

Biſhop *Ken.* I have been told from good hands, That one of our Biſhops ſaid, *Though he could not ſatisfie his own Scruples, yet he thought the* Engliſh *Nation fools if ever they ſuffered King* James *to return*; and I may from hence reaſonably conclude the far greateſt part of our Scruplers are ſatisfied in the main, and do heartily wiſh they could alſo be of the ſame mind with the reſt of their Brethren in the reſt; ſo that the cauſe is half obtained againſt them, and thoſe that ſhall finally perſiſt will, I hope, not meet with much Compaſſion, it being ſcarce poſſible there ſhould not be a very great deal of Will in ſo much blindneſs.

Le vrai Interet des Princes Chretiens, P. 176.

Our Neighbours abroad have obſerved *with wonder, That* England *was delivered from an Arbitrary Government, which threatned the Ruine and Deſolation of the whole Nation, and the Deſtruction of our Religion, without the ſhedding any of our Blood, and that the Army of our* Deliverer *has committed no Diſorder or Rapine in any of our Places through which it paſſed.* Now one would think the manner of our Deliverance were a Mercy almoſt equal to the Deliverance; No, they cry, if King *William* the Third had entered *England* as *William* the Firſt did, and had ſlain fifty or ſixty thouſand *Engliſh* Men in a Battle, then it had been a true Conqueſt, and would have juſtified our ſubmiſſion, and God would not have been offended with us if we had transferred our Allegiance from the beaten *James* to the Victorious King *William*. Now if Men were like Beaſts, altogether diſtitute of the uſe of Reaſon, and capable

pable of no Reflection but the terrour of a brandiſhed and irreſiſtable Sword, then there might perhaps be ſome force in this reaſon: but if a Man is conquered whenever he is brought to ſubmit to another; the Nobleſt as well as the moſt effectual Conqueſt is that of the Pen; Swords conquer Bodies only, Reaſon and Intereſt, Juſtice and Mercy, ſubdue Souls too, and at once bring the whole Man under; whereas Brutiſh force can triumph over none but the brutiſh half of a Man. A Lyon or a Woolf may maſter my Body and bring me under his power, ſo that I neither can nor durſt reſiſt him; but none but an Hero can bring me to a willing Submiſſion when I am free, none but an Hero would with his own hazard deliver me from Slavery when I were oppreſs'd. St. *Peter* ſaith, ᾧ γάρ τις ἥττηται, τούτῳ καὶ δεδούλωται. *By whom a Man is overcome, him he muſt ſerve*; *That is, he cannot reſiſt him*; and it is as true, *he whom I neither can nor durſt reſiſt, has conquered me.* When *James* the Second was deſired to leave *Whitehall* and go to *Ham*; and ſent to his now Majeſty *for leave to go rather to* Rocheſter, *than to any other place*; It was a plain Confeſſion he was no longer Free, *i. e.* That *he was brought into bondage*, and conſequently that he was *conquered*: if Conqueſt be nothing but the *depriving a Man of the power of reſiſting*, as I take it to be; and that *Servitude* or *Bondage* is nothing but the effect of that deprivation. And in his Letter from *Rocheſter* he ſaith, *He did not think it convenient to expoſe himſelf to be ſecured ſo as not to be at liberty to effect it (to redeem the Nation from Slavery) and for that reaſon to withdraw*, &c. That is, he left *England*, becauſe as long as he ſtaied in it he was a Captive and liable to be *ſecured*. And by conſequence he was conquered. The Roman Catholicks too, and thoſe few of the Church of *England*, who ſtill adhere to him, were conquered by force of Arms; for they durſt not reſiſt, nay they durſt not Print the Reaſons why they will not comply, which is a plain Confeſſion they are ſubdued. The reſt of the Nation too was conquered not by the Sword, but by the Juſtice of his Arms; and his Kindneſs to a miſerable enſlaved People deſigned for Ruine. And after all this, to query whether it is a real Conqueſt, is very abſurd.

But every Conqueſt will perhaps not create a juſt and good Title, but here it is confeſſed the preſent King had the moſt juſt cauſe to make a War upon *James* the Second, that ever Man had, by them who ſcruple to ſubmit to him; He managed this

War alſo with the utmoſt juſtice, he did not enter into it till he had tried all other ways to obtain Juſtice, and was denied it and perſecuted into boot, he offered to ſubmit all his pretences to an *Engliſh* Parliament: and when that was rejected he managed the War with ſo exact a diſciplie, with ſo little injury to the reſt of the Nation, that the want of the effects of War, Blood and Rapine, is objected againſt his Victory.

Every Man has not the Right of making a Conqueſt: *a Subject* that rebels againſt his Prince is but a Victorious Traytor if he prevail; but *William* the Third was a Sovereign Prince when he entered *England*, and by the Law of Nations had a right to vindicate his, and his Ladies Injuries, and obtain by the Sword, what he could not get by a fair Treaty.

But to what end is War allowed at all, if the Cauſe and the Effect muſt be ſeparated, and the moſt juſt War in the end leave the Conqueror in the ſame ſtate he was before? No, but all Subjects, Right or Wrong, are bound to ſtand by their Lawful Princes in their moſt unjuſt Quarrels: and if at laſt they are ſubdued, their Allegiance muſt be reſerved for the injurious beaten Prince till he die or freely reſign; that is, a Victorious Sovereign Prince and a Proſperous Rebel, and a juſt and an unjuſt War, ſhall, according to theſe Men's Notion, have the ſame effect.

Evagrius, in his Apology for the Chriſtian Religion againſt *Zozimus* the Pagan Hiſtorian, thus beſpeaks him: 'Let us, if you pleaſe 'Sir, conſider the ends of thoſe Princes who imbraced the Pagan Superſtition, and the Deaths of thoſe Princes that were Chriſtians. 'Did not *Caius Julius Caſar* the firſt of them that obtained the Empire of *Rome*, periſh by Treachery? And was not *Caius Caligula* 'Murthered by his own Souldiers? Was not *Nero* ſlain by one of 'his own Servants? Did not *Galba*, *Otho* and *Vitellius* all periſh by 'the Sword in the ſpace of ſixteen Months? Did not *Domitian* poiſon 'his Brother *Titus*, and then he himſelf fall by the Sword of one *Stephanus*? What will you ſay of *Commodus*? Did not *Narciſſus* lay violent hands upon him? And did not *Pertinax* and *Julian* fall by 'the ſame means? *Antoninus*, the Son of *Severus*, ſlew *Geta* his Brother, 'and ſoon after fell by the Sword of *Martialis* himſelf. Was not '*Macrinus* the Emperour taken Captive by his own Souldiers, and 'being led about the Streets of *Byzantium* afterwards, was he not 'moſt Traiterouſly ſlain by them? *Aurelius Antoninus* the Emperour 'who was born at *Emiſa*, a City of *Syria*, was ſlain with his Mother. 'To what end ſhould I ſpeak of *Maximinus*, who was ſlain by his 'own

Hiſt. Eccl. lib. III. cap. 41.

'own Souldiers? Of *Gordian*, who fell by the Swords of his too 'who were ſtirred up to it by *Philip*? And were not *Philip* and 'Decius both ſlain by their Foreign Enemies? *Gallus* and *Voluſi-* 'anus by their own Armies? And had not *Æmilian* the ſame 'Fate? Was not *Valerian* taken priſoner, and carried about by the 'Perſians till he died? Was not *Galienus*, the Son of *Valerian*, ſlain 'by Treachery, and *Carinus* beheaded, and ſo the Empire fell into 'the hands of *Diocleſian* and thoſe he aſſociated to him in the Em- 'pire; of which *Maximianus Herculius*, and his Son *Maxentius* 'and *Licinius* all fell by the Sword? But from the time *Conſtantine*, 'a Chriſtian Prince, became Emperour, to this, ſee if you can find 'any one who has reigned in *Conſtantinople*, except *Julian* the 'Apoſtate and *Valens* the Emperour, who have fallen by the hands 'of their own Subjects or of Foreigners, who both ſo grievouſly 'afflicted the Chriſtians; nor has any Tyrant uſurped againſt 'any of our Princes except *Baſiliſcus*, who roſe up againſt *Zeno* 'the Emperor, and drove him from his Palace; but was after- 'wards overcome by *Zeno*, and put to death. You cannot aſ- 'ſign any other Emperor, but theſe two, that was ſlain in all this 'time. This happened in the Year of Chriſt 476. And *Licini-* 'us was put to death in the Year 325. So that in the ſpace of 151. Years no Chriſtian Prince had been Depoſed or Murther- ed by Domeſtick or Foreign Enemies in the *Eaſt*: And whereas, I obſerved before in the latter times of the Pagan Superſtition, in the ſpace of 110. Years, there were twenty nine Emperors in this period, which makes 151 Years, there was but twelve, of which number *Julian* and *Valens* were cut off by the Juſtice of God for Perſecuting his Church. Now the force of all this Argument lies in this, That the Providence of God watcheth over Pious Princes to preſerve them from Violence: and as he ſuffereth not perſecu- ting Princes to end their daies in Peace, he looks graciouſly upon his Servants to preſerve their Souls from violence and wrong, be- cauſe they are ſuch. But if it is ſaid he has ſuffered ſome good Princes to be oppreſſed as he did *Henry* the Sixth and *Charles* the Firſt; I ſay the Judgments of God are ſometimes unſcrutable, and thoſe that have any hand in ſuch Actions, ſhall doubtleſsly be reſponſible for it. But as for thoſe who are meerly paſſive, as they could not hinder the ill things that happened in their times, they may and ought to commit them to God; who in his due time will puniſh all unjuſt Uſurpers, either in their Perſons or in their Poſterity.

See the 1. Collect, for the 5th of *Novemb.*

But

But then this new Doctrine of ſtanding by wicked perſecuting Princes, to the apparent and viſible Ruine of the Church, or at leaſt of thoſe that imbrace it, was never heard of in the Church before, was never taught or practiſed by the Primitive Chriſtians; and is not any part of the Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience or Non-reſiſtance: As they would not rebel againſt their Princes, how wicked or cruel ſoever they were; ſo neither would they againſt God, whoſe only Right it is to diſpoſe of the Kingdoms of the World; without whoſe Approbation as well as Permiſſion, no Force ever did, or ever ſhall, prevail; who when he pleaſes puniſheth the Wicked, and when he pleaſeth pulls down not only unjuſt Uſurpers, but thoſe who have the juſteſt Title. The great *Thuanus* makes this Reflection on the Depoſition of *Chriſtian* the Second, King of *Denmark*,

Thuanus, Ann. 1559

If Princes will Reign well and happily, they muſt govern their Affections, and not out of a violent luſt of inſulting over their Subjects give up themſelves to the Conduct of their Paſſions, or otherwiſe they ought to aſſure themſelves, God is a ſevere revenger, always ready and delighting to pluck off their Thrones the moſt Proud and Inſolent who ſhall abuſe that Power he has intruſted them with. Nor is this leſs true of lawful Princes, than of unlawful Uſurpers, no Title can exempt a Prince from being reſponſible to the Juſtice of God, and he will uſe his Power as he thinks fit, and puniſh one Man after one manner, and another in another; ſome in this World, and others in the next; and the Church in the beſt of times accordingly left it to him to diſpoſe of the Government of the World: and as ſhe did not anticipate his Judgments by diſturbing the Peace of the World, whatſoever ſhe ſuffered; ſo neither did ſhe think her ſelf more wiſe or juſt than he, but ſubmitted to thoſe he was pleaſed in his Providence to ſet over her; and would certainly have been very thankful for ſuch a Deliverance as we of the Church of *England* have had, by the Miniſtery of our King, who like another *Conſtantine* has delivered us out of the hands of our Enemies, who deſigned to enſlave and ruine us and our Poſterity for ever.

The Primitive Church in the beſt times took the words of St. *Paul* in their plain and literal ſenſe, Αἱ δὲ οὖσαι ἐξουσίαι, ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ τεταγμέναι εἰσίν. *The powers that are*, (i. e. in Poſſeſſion) *are ordained or ordered of God.* Rom. 13. They never formalize or make any Exception, but Conqueſt, Election, Uſurpation, were to them all alike, if once the Man was Eſtabliſhed in the Throne; And whereas they ſo frequently affirm, Empires are given by God, according to that of *Tertullian*, *Apolog. cap. XXX. We Invocate for the Preſervation of the Emperors*,

Emperors, the Eternal, True, Living God, him whom the Emperors themſelves would wiſh propitious above all others, for they know who gave them the Empire (they know it as Men,) and who gave them their breath. They feelingly know that he is the only God in whoſe Power they only are, &c. There is no power but that of God that can touch the Perſon, the Power or the Life of any Prince. Thus *Soz.* in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, *Lib. VI. c.* 35. reprehends the vanity of the Pagan Philoſophers who had been too Inquiſitive to find who ſhould ſucceed *Valens*; and the over great ſeverity of that Prince in Executing many who had no hand in it, becauſe their Names began with the Letters pretended to be diſcovered. *If* (ſaith he) *theſe things are once agreed to depend* (ἐν τῇ τῶν ἄστρων φορᾷ) *on the Motion or Courſe of the Stars, we ought to expect* (τὸ ἐσόμενον) *The Prince that is thus decreed for us, whoſoever it is: But if theſe things are ordered by the counſel of God, why do Men prie curiouſly into them; for the foreſight or endeavours of Men can never find out the Will of God. And if it were poſſible, it is not fit to be done, becauſe the wiſeſt of Men cannot order them* (the ſucceſſion of Princes) *better than God.* The Ancient Fathers and Primitive Chriſtians do every where aſcribe the Setting up and Pulling down of Princes to God only, as they do Raine and other ſuch things; and you ſhall never find any Exception, of lawful, or unlawful Powers, that were ſupreme in Fact in the Writings of the firſt Ages. To this purpoſe, ſee that Paſſage of St. *Auguſtin De Civitate Dei, lib. V. c.* 21. cited above.

Some have alledged in anſwer to this, That we in *England* are under other Circumſtances than the Primitive Church were, both in Relation to our Laws and our Oaths; for the Law, Sir *Edward Coke* in his Pleas of the Crown, Chap. 1. p. 7. ſaith, upon the 25 *E.* 3. *c.* 2. **This Statute is to be underſtood** of a King in Poſſeſſion of the Crown and Kingdom; **for** if there be a King Regnant in Poſſeſſion of the Crown, although he be *Rex de facto & non de jure*; yet he is *Seignior le Roy within the Purview* of this Statute, and the other that **hath Right** and is out of Poſſeſſion, is not within this Act. Nay, If Treaſon be committed againſt a King *de facto & non de jure*, **and** after the King *de jure* cometh to the Crown, he ſhall **Punish** the Treaſon done to the King, *de facto*. **And** a Pardon granted by a King *de jure*, that is not alſo *de facto*, is void, for which he cites 11 *H.* 7. *c.* 1. 4 *E.* 4. 1. 1 *Ed.* 4. 1, 2.

The

The words of the Statute are as followeth.

1 *H.* 7. c. 1. The King our Sovereign Lord calling to his remembrance the Duty of Allegiance of his Subjects of this Realm, and that they by reason of the same are bound to serve their Prince and Sovereign Lord for the time being in his Wars, for the Defence of him and the Land, against every Rebellion, Power and Might reared against him, and with him to enter and abide in service in Battel, if case so require; (2) and that for the same service what fortune ever fall by chance in the same Battle against the Mind and Will of the Prince (as in this Land some time passed hath been seen) that it is not reasonable, but against all Law, Reason, and good Conscience, that the said Subjects going with their Sovereign Lord in Wars, attending upon him in his Person, or being in other places by his commandment within this Land or without, any thing should lose or forfeit for doing their true Duty and Service of Allegiance, &c —— That for the said deed and true Duty of Allegiance he or they be in no wise Convict or Attaint of High Treason, ne of other Offences for that cause by Act of Parliament or otherwise by any Process of Law whereby he or any of them shall lose or forfeit Life, Lands, Tenements, &c. or any other things, but to be for that Deed and Service utterly discharged of any vexation, trouble or loss. And if any Act or Acts or other Process of the Law hereafter thereupon for the same happen to be made contrary to this Ordinance, that then that Act or Acts or other Process of the Law, whatsoever they shall be, stand and be utterly void. (5) Provided always that no Person or Persons shall take any Benefit or Advantage by this Act which shall hereafter decline from his or their said Allegiance.

Which

Which is to be underſtood of the King in being, as the reſt is, and againſt the ſame King. To this Statute it is alledged, That the Title of the Crown was then ſo ambiguous and uncertain, that it was hard to know where the Right lay; which is a meer Cavil. The Title was as well known then as it is now, and is a thing of that Nature, that it can never be univerſally known; but the greateſt part of Mankind take thoſe that are ſet over them, without further inquiry; nor is it reaſonable any Man ſhould ſuffer for obeying them whom he cannot nor ought to reſiſt: So that what ſome have ſaid, That every one is bound to take notice of the right Title at his Peril, is true, if the Perſon is in Poſſeſſion, but falſe if he is out of Poſſeſſion.

Conqueſt, a voluntary Surrender, and a wilful Deſertion of a Crown, will put an End to the beſt founded Title in the World, as I think is univerſally agreed; ſo that if the Party pretending, has a Title, why is he not in Poſſeſſion too? if he is outed by his own Act, I am abſolved; if by the Force and Power of another, why then, he is conquered: and both waies (eſpecially if I had no hand in it) I am, and ought to be abſolved before God and Man.

But then not only the three Eſtates of *England*, but all the Princes and Sovereign States in Chriſtendom (except the King of *France*) have allowed King *William* and Queen *Mary*, as the rightful Sovereigns of *England*; which is a kind of giving Judgment againſt the late King, after hearing what has been alledged on both ſides. So that this Caſe is determined by all the ways that are poſſible; and muſt abſolve any Man that ſubmits now to that which is the only Supreme Power in *England*.

As to the *Oaths* taken to the late King, they create no new Obligation upon us as to the Extent or Duration of our Allegiance; I was under the ſame Obligations of Allegiance, before I was ſworn, as I was afterwards; and every Subject of *England*, oweth, by the Laws of *England*, a natural Allegiance to his Prince before he is ſworn, as every Man ows naturally Obedience to God, before he entreth into the Baptiſmal Covenant: And ſo the Primitive Chriſtians were under the ſame Obligation to their Princes we are, tho' I do not find they ever ſwore any Allegiance to them.

2. This Allegiance is no everlaſting Obligation as to time; Death, a voluntary Reſignation, a wilful Deſertion, or a lawful Conqueſt will put an End to it.

3. It is no wild, unlimited Obedience, whilſt it laſteth, but is plainly limited by the Laws of God and the Laws of the Land, and if *Magna cha.* c. 29. 2 E. 3. c. 8.

if I obey further actively, I am reſponſible to God and Man for it.

I come now to the Words of the Oaths, which may ſeem to create any Scruple; which in the Oath of Supremacy I ſuppoſe may be theſe. *I do promiſe that from henceforth I ſhall bear Faith and true Allegiance to the King's Highneſs, his Heirs and Lawful Succeſſors* (and to my Power) *ſhall aſſiſt and defend all Juriſdictions, Priviledges, Preheminences and Authorities granted or belonging to the King's Highneſs, his Heirs and Succeſſors, or united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm.*

Where firſt I obſerve, No Man is bound beyond *his Power*, but that all thoſe who ſtuck to the late King, till he left the Nation, and another took Poſſeſſion of his Place, are thereby diſabled and freed from attempting any further.

2. That the Authorities I am to defend are ſuch only as belong to the Crown of *England* by the Laws of *England*; which are to limit my Allegiance; but by the Law of *England*, my Allegiance is now transferred to another, and cannot be due to two in oppoſition each to other; ſo that if I perſiſt in my Allegiance to *James* II. I am puniſhable by theſe very Laws; therefore my Allegiance, which was a legal Allegiance is determined.

That in the Oath of Allegiance, which may be objected, is this,

I will bear Faith and true Allegiance to his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, and him and them will defend, to the uttermoſt of my Power, *againſt all Conſpiracies and Attempts whatſoever, which ſhall be made againſt his or their Perſons, their Crown and Dignity, by reaſon or colour of any ſuch Sentence or otherwiſe*, &c.

Now this Oath, which binds us to the Perſon, as the other did to the Power, is capable of the ſame Limitation, and is to be limited both as to its Duration and extent, by the Laws of *England*, and the Law of Nations; and therefore is determinable the ſame way the other was.

The *Power*, and *uttermoſt Power*, reſerved and expreſſed in theſe *Oaths*, is a *Legal Power*, and therefore no Man is by theſe *Oaths* bound to exert his Natural Power for any Prince, when he may by the Laws of *England* be puniſhed as a *Traytor* for ſo doing; it being a Legal and not an Illegal *Allegiance* we promiſe by them.

If King *James* would have been contented with the *Preheminences, Priviledges, Authorities and Juriſdictions granted and annexed, or belonging to the Crown of* England, I believe no Body queſtions but he had

had been ſtill King of *England*; but by graſping at others, which did not belong to him, he cut off his own Succours, and hindred thoſe that otherwiſe would have defended him and them from doing it: He would not be content with thoſe that belonged to him, and they could not fight for, or defend any other; and between theſe two his Power fell to the Ground, by his own Default; and his withdrawing put an End to his Sovereignty; and put our preſent King and Queen in the actual Poſſeſſion of all thoſe Legal Juriſdictions, Privileges, Preheminences and Authorities, which he was formerly veſted with; and it is now the ſame Sin to reſiſt *them*, it was formerly to reſiſt *him*.

There may poſſibly be ſome, who will lightly regard what ever I or any other Man of this Age can ſay to them; will they then vouchſafe to hear one of the moſt Noble and Royal *Orators* that ever ſpoke to men, *Conſtantine* the Great, in his *Oration to the Holy Aſſembly*.

Chap. 24. *Of the calamitous Deaths of* Decius, Valerian *and* Aurelian, *three Emperors who perſecuted the Church.*

'And now I ask thee, O *Decius*, who didſt once inſult over the 'Calamities of the Juſt, who didſt hate the Church, who didſt 'inflict ſuch Puniſhments on thoſe who lived moſt piouſly: What 'art thou doing in the other World? with what and how dreadful 'Circumſtances art thou ſurrounded? Yea, the remainder of thy 'Life (after it) in this World, and the manner of thy Death 'ſhew thy Felicity, when thou and all thy Army fell in the *Scythian* 'Fields: And the celebrated *Roman Empire*, by thy Fall became '(after this) contemptible to the *Goths*. And thou, O *Valerian*, 'when thou didſt enter into a bloody War againſt the Servants of 'God, haſt thereby made his Juſtice known to Men; being taken 'Priſoner by the *Perſians*, and kept in Chains in thy Purple and 'Royal Robes. After which thou wert flea'd (being dead) by '*Sapores*, King of *Perſia*, and thy Skin, by his Order, tanned and 'kept as an eternal Trophy of thy Misfortune. And thou, O *Aurelius*, the unjuſteſt and moſt wicked Incendiary, how much haſt 'thou diſcovered his Juſtice, whilſt madly invading *Thrace*, thou 'wert cut off in the Field, and didſt defile the furrows of the Publick 'Road with thy wicked Blood?

Conſtantini oratio ad ſanctorum cœtum.

Chap. 25. *Of* Diocleſian, *who baſely reſigned the Empire, and was ſtruck with Lightning for perſecuting the Church.*

'*Diocleſian* alſo, after a wicked Slaughter and cruel Perſecution, 'condemning himſelf, through diſtraction, was reduced to a pri- 'vate Life, and puniſhed with the Reſtraint of a mean Houſe. 'What did he get by his War againſt our God? Why, that he 'was ever after afraid of Thunder and Lightning. *Nicomedia* ſaith 'this, and they who ſaw it will not be ſilent; among whom *I my ſelf* 'was one. The *Palace* was conſumed, and his very Chamber burnt 'with Fire from Heaven; and thereupon wiſe Men foretold what 'would follow, for they could not conceal their Thoughts, nor 'ſuppreſs their Reſentments at the ill things were done, but openly 'and publickly, with aſſurance, ſaid one to another, *What madneſs* 'is this? *what boaſting in human Power for a Mortal to begin a War* 'againſt God, *and injuriouſly to affront the moſt chaſt and holy Religion?* 'and without any Cauſe or Provocation to contrive the Deſtruction of ſo 'many juſt Men, and of ſo numerous a People? What a famous Maſter 'and teacher of Modeſty to his Subjects will he appear? How rarely he 'teacheth his Soldiers to take Care of their Countrymen? Why, they 'ſtab their fellow Subjects bravely, who in Fight never ſaw the back 'of a beaten Enemy. At laſt the Providence of God undertook the 'avenging this Impiety, tho' not without the publick Hurt; for ſo 'much Blood had been ſhed by him, that if he had ſlain as many of 'the *Barbarians* as he did of his own Subjects, we might have pro- 'cured a long Peace by it. But the whole *Roman* Army being then 'in the Hand of a mean-ſpirited Prince, who had acquired it by 'Force, his whole Army periſhed, when God was pleaſed to think 'fit to reſtore the *Romans* to their ancient Liberty. *The Voices of* 'oppreſſed Men, who cryed to God for Help under their Burthens, and 'begged the Return of their natural Liberty (are not forgotten;) nor the 'Praiſes they returned when they had regained it, and ſaw an end of 'their Calamities: Did they not declare to all the World, How much 'they admired the ſingular Providence and paternal Love of God to men, 'when their Liberty, and the Equity of their Contracts was reſtored? That is, when they were delivered out of the Hands of perfidious Tyrants, and became ſubject to a Prince who would keep his Faith and Promiſe to them.

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They may be pleaſed to conſider, How much of this was our Caſe; and ask their Conſciences, If the ſelf-ſame Divine Juſtice and Providence has not appeared in our Times alſo, and whether we have not as much Reaſon as they to be pleaſed and thankful.

Having thus diſpatched what I think fit for the preſent to be offered to the Friends of the late King; I come now to that part of the Nation, who being ſatisfied and highly pleaſed with the preſent State of Affairs; may therefore be called, in contradiſtinction, the *Williamiſts*.

Many of theſe of late have appeared very pertly againſt the Doctrine of *Non reſiſtance* and Paſſive Obedience; and diſcourſed of it with a Contempt and Scorn, as if it were one of the worſt and moſt exploded Doctrines in the whole World; and full as Antichriſtian as that of *depoſing Kings, and diſpoſing of their Kingdoms*. Now, theſe two being directly contrary each to other, in all probability one of them is true. If we of the Church of *England* are not in the right with the Scriptures, and all Primitive Antiquity on our ſide; it is fairly probable, They of the Depoſing Church are; for their Claim is older than the Peoples: But the Miſchief is, the Devils is older than either; for he pretended to our Saviour, when he had ſhewed him all the Kingdoms of the World, and made a conditional Tender of them, ἐμοὶ παραδέδοται, καὶ ᾧ ἐὰν θέλω, δίδωμι αὐτήν. *All this Power and Glory is delivered into my Hands, and I give it to whomſoever I will*: Now this was long before People or Pope put in any Claim, and before the latter of theſe had any Being. The Pope, it is true, claims under the People, but the Devil in his own Right: But I believe neither of them can ſhew their Charter, though the Devil claimed by a Grant; and ſo I ſhall leave him and them, Pope and all, in the intire poſſeſſion of their ſeveral Rights, if any they have.

The Doctrine of Non-reſiſtance has been often proved the genuine Doctrine of the beſt Ages of the Church; and that ſo fully and clearly, that thoſe who would not yield to the Force of the Proof, have not been able to deny the Truth of it, but have been forced to pretend it was only Temporary, and doth not oblige all Ages; which is hardly Senſe; or that the Church is now in other Circumſtances than ſhe was then; which is not true neither: for in ſome Places ſhe is now under the ſame or worſe Circumſtances, than ſhe was in the three firſt Centuries, and conſequently, they at leaſt, are under the ſame Obligations the Primitive Chriſtians were; and therefore this very Doctrine is of eternal Verity, and will have

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its Uſe till the End of the World. The command is general, the Examples of it are general, and it is now confeſſedly neceſſary in *Turky*, and all Countries where Chriſtianity is oppreſſed; and by conſequence every where, except ſome Body can ſhew, We have one Goſpel for the Afflicted, and another for the proſperous Daies of the Church; or one Remedy, *viz.* that of Patience was preſcribed to our Anceſtors, and another directly contrary to us; which if any Man can ſhew, when and where it was done, I ſhall be very thankful.

But it may be pretended it has been ſtretched too far; and that ſome of the Church of *England* have written too much in Favour of Wicked and Tyrannical Princes, even to the encouraging them to do worſe than otherwiſe they would: To this I ſay, The Heat of Controverſie has in other Inſtances miſ-led Men as well as in this; and the Doctrine of Non-reſiſtance is nevertheleſs true, tho' their Notions of it ſhould happen to prove too looſe or too large. Let it then be fairly and truly ſtated once for all, and then let it be as it ever has been, The Glory of the Church of *England*, and the Bulwark of all Religious Kings and States, againſt the Rage of Mutinous and Rebellious Spirits, who pretend to fight for God's Truth, againſt the Laws and Governments of their Countries.

If any Man thinks ſome of the things that were done in the heat of the late Revolution cannot be juſtified, without exploding this Doctrine: I ſay thoſe are the Faults of a few Men, and better it is to leave them to their own Maſter, than to ſet up our ſelves againſt the Doctrines of Chriſtianity to excuſe them. The Men of our Generation have all the Infirmities that have gone along with th former; and being ſo highly provoked by a handful of perfidious ungrateful Miſcreants, what Wonder is it if the Temptation, which was ſo ſtrong, prevailed over the Reſtraint, and made them guilty of ſome Irregularities, which according to the ſtrict Rules of the *Goſpel*, cannot be juſtified; ſuch things have happened in the beſt of the former Ages, and will happen again in thoſe that ſhall follow us. But the Rule of Chriſtianity ought to be preſerved, notwithſtanding, and delivered down to our Poſterity juſt as we received it.

Thoſe that have appeared againſt this Doctrine have done their Majeſties Two great Injuries. Firſt, They have exaſperated the Diſſatisfied Party in the Nation, and made them harder to be won over; they concluding, that this *Revolution* was not the Work of God,

God, becauſe ſo many of thoſe who have defended it, have made it their buſineſs to ridicule or confute the Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience*, as if there were no other way than that to juſtifie it. But then they are well aſſured this is as certain a Principle of the Chriſtian Religion, and was ever practiſed by the Primitive Church in the five firſt Centuries; and from thence they conclude, the Men that do this and all other that joyn with them, have made a Defection from this Doctrine, and from the Church of *England*; and they think themſelves bound in Conſcience to oppoſe all thoſe that are thus united, leſt they ſhould ſeem betrayers of this Loyal, Holy, Excellent Doctrine, and of the Honour of that Church that hath ever taught it.

Secondly, They have deprived them, as much as in them lies, of that religious awe and reverence, which is due to all Crowned Heads and Sovereign States. If they are the *Miniſters of God*, if they are the *Powers ordained by God*, then is all reſiſtance of them a ſin againſt God. But theſe Men write as if it were lawful to *reſiſt* when they pleaſed, and whom they pleaſed; which, if it is true, I am very confident it will not be long before they will pretend they have cauſe, or ſome other for them; and ſo all Princes ſhall be deprived of their beſt Safegard, the fear of God over-awing their Subjects, as the juſt avenger of ſuch as rebel againſt their rightful, lawful Princes, and the Laws of their Country.

As there muſt be in every Country a Supreme Power lodged ſomewhere, againſt which there is no Appeal but to God; ſo that Power muſt be acknowledged to be Sacred and Irreſiſtable, by the Laws of Chriſtianity: and this is as true of Commonwealths as Monarchies, for whereſoever the Supreme Power is lodged, it is the Ordinance of God, approved by his Word, and ſettled by his Providence, *whoſoever then reſiſteth that Power, reſiſteth the Ordinance of God, and ſhall receive to themſelves Damnation.* He, then, that ſhall endeavour to deſtroy this Obligation, and to perſuade Men they are not bound in Conſcience to ſubmit to the Laws and lawful Governors of their Country, contradicts this plain Doctrine of the Apoſtle, and expoſeth the Supreme Powers in all Countries to the Rage and Fury of the Multitude, or any Faction that is potent, and thinks it ſelf injured; and conſequently he is an Enemy to all Government.

But then though I am bound not to reſiſt, I am not equally bound to aſſiſt, my hands may be tied both ways; If I live in a Pagan Country, where Chriſtianity is Perſecuted by the Supreme Power, I muſt ſuffer and ought not to reſiſt; but then I am not to lend

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my aſſiſtance to that State to encourage or enable it to deſtroy this Religion, but I muſt be meerly paſſive in that caſe. And this was the caſe of *England*, we were perſecuted againſt Law, by a handful of Men, who expected to ruine us by our own hands; and we were bound not to aſſiſt them in this wicked and fooliſh Project; and for want of our aſſiſtance they could not juſtifie or carry on the Enterprize: and when they came to be called to an Account by a Prince who was no Subject, and conſequently was not under the Obligation of not reſiſting their Injuſtice and Oppreſſion; ſo they fell an eaſie Victim to his Arms, and we were delivered out of their hand, not by any reſiſtance we made, but by refuſing to aſſiſt them; and they that went no farther than this (which it is certain the greateſt part of the Nation did not) are juſtifiable by the ſtricteſt Rules of Chriſtianity, and the Practice of the beſt Ages.

To conclude, I would adviſe even thoſe who have no kindneſs for the Doctrine of *Non-reſiſtance*, to ſpeak modeſtly of it; it has ſuch Characters of Divinity to ſhew, that it will deſerve this reſpect at their hands, if they are Chriſtians: And as to thoſe that are not, thoſe that deſpiſe all revealed Religion (for they of late have been very witty againſt it) they ought to ſhew ſome reverence to it, for the ſake of Government, and to preſerve the Peace of the World in which that ſort of Men have a greater intereſt than others; for their *All* lies in this World, and they pretend to nothing in the next; and if the World be imbroyled, let the pretence be what it will, their happineſs muſt neceſſarily be very much abated, and perhaps their *Machines* deſtroyed, and then there is an end of them.

FINIS.

LICENS'D,
Auguſt 27. 1689. *J. Fraſer.*

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